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Immigration and Religion

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Key Words

religious identity, civic life, second generation, migration, diaspora

Abstract

This review synthesizes research about religion in the lives of post-1965 immigrants to the United States. Such research consists primarily of case studies, published since 1990, focused on individual religious organizations started and attended by immigrants. We analyze these case studies to demonstrate the different ways religion influences immigrants' adaptation in the United States. We then consider how religion informs immigrants' ethnic and gender-based identities, their experiences of civic and political life, and the lives of the second generation. We argue that current research is more descriptive than analytic overall, and we highlight a series of research questions and comparisons to enrich theoretical thinking. In particular, we advocate a comparative approach to examining immigrants' religious organizations and increased attention to a "lived religion" perspective, which takes seriously the ways religion is important for immigrants outside of religious organizations in social institutions, including civic organizations, families, workplaces, schools, and health-care organizations.

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INTRODUCTION

Recent estimates suggest that 23% of the American population is an immigrant or the child of an immigrant (Alba & Nee 2003, Lee & Bean 2004, Malone et al. 2003). Numerous articles in the *Annual Review of Sociology* analyze aspects of immigrants' experiences, including assimilation (Waters & Jimenez 2005), multiracial identification (Lee & Bean 2004), educational attainment (Kao & Thompson 2003), and the second generation (Zhou 1997). During the past 15 years, sociologists of religion, immigration, and race and ethnicity have begun to investigate how religion influences the experiences of post-1965 immigrants to the United States (i.e., those who arrived after the Immigration and Naturalization Services Act of 1965) (Carnes & Yang 2004, Diaz-Stevens 2003, Diaz-Stevens & Stevens-Arroyo 1998, Ebaugh 2003, Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000b, Haddad et al. 2003, Leonard et al. 2005, Levitt 2005, Min & Kim 2002, Warner 1998, Warner & Wittner 1998, Yoo 1996). This area of research was slow to develop because of skepticism about religion among social scientists, because of data limitations, and because few scholars are themselves first- or second-generation immigrants, among other factors (Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000b). The majority of this research has been case studies of individual religious groups and organizations. We selectively synthesize and review these studies to chart patterns in current thinking and to identify blind spots to be addressed in future research. This article complements a similar review published in the *American Sociological Review* by Yang & Ebaugh (2001b).

We focus here primarily on published research by sociologists (rather than by historians or religious studies scholars) about religion and the experiences of post-1965 immigrants to the United States. The work of Handlin (1951), Herberg (1955), Gordon (1964), and others laid the foundation for this line of research by considering the influence of religion among previous generations of immigrants to the United States, but a detailed intellectual history of their contributions is beyond the scope of this article. Similarly, a growing body of research considers how religion influences immigrants' experiences in non-U.S. countries (for example, Menjívar 1999, 2006a,b; Van Tubergen 2006), a topic we leave for subsequent *Annual Review* authors. Questions about the role of religion in the development and maintenance of transnational relations are also central to the research reviewed here and are addressed by Levitt & Jaworsky (2007) in this volume.

The main strengths of recent research are also its greatest weaknesses: a reliance on richly descriptive individual case studies and, although there are certainly notable exceptions, a lack of systematic analytic comparison and synthesis. In this review, we show that, in these studies, local religious organizations started and/or attended by immigrants are the main unit of analysis rather than either more macro religious institutions or other social institutions such as cities, families, workplaces, health-care organizations or more micro contexts focused on individuals' experiences outside of religious gatherings. A "lived religion" approach that focuses on immigrants' stories and experiences in a range of social spheres is relatively new to this area of research. Also in existing research, independent variables such as demographics, immigration status, geographic contexts of exit and reception, and the presence or absence of coethnics in receiving contexts are rarely systematically considered as factors that influence the shape of immigrants' religious beliefs, practices, and affiliations (for exceptions, see Van Tubergen 2006, Yang & Ebaugh 2001a). Similarly, only recently has religion been carefully considered as an independent variable that influences factors such as immigrant economic mobility or civic and political participation (Ebaugh & Pipes 2001, Jones-Correa & Leal 2001).

Until recently, detailed survey data about post-1965 immigrants that included

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information about religion were limited to a very small number of cases in surveys such as the National Survey of Religious Identification/American Religious Identification Survey and those conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, which did not allow for detailed analysis of immigrant populations (Kosmin & Lachman 1993, Numrich 2000, Warner & Wittner 1998). The recent pilot and first wave of the New Immigrant Survey (NIS), a nationally representative survey of post-1965 legal immigrants to the United States, includes several questions about religion that are just now allowing for analytic comparisons previously not possible. Conducted in 1996, the pilot survey revealed that two-thirds of post-1965 immigrants are Christian and 42% are Catholic (Jasso et al. 2003). Such results confirm the work of other scholars, who argue that new immigrants are increasing the racial and ethnic diversity of American Christianity as well as bringing larger numbers of adherents of non-Christian religions (Smith & Kim 2005, Warner 2005; see also **http://nis.princeton.edu** for the data from the New Immigrant Survey, which is public access). More than four times as many immigrants (17%) as native-born Americans (4%) report religious affiliations that are non-Judeo Christian. Not all immigrants are religious, however, with 15% reporting no religion, compared with 12% of the native born (Jasso et al. 2003). Additional analyses suggest religious patterns related to visa status, marriage partners, religious service attendance, and other issues to be further investigated using the full NIS (Cadge & Ecklund 2006; Jasso et al. 2000, 2003).

The remainder of this article is divided into four sections. First, we briefly review existing case studies focused largely on immigrants' religious gathering places. Second, we consider how religion contributes to identity formation for immigrants, with particular attention to ethnic and gender identities. Third, we focus on research about religion and civic and political participation among immigrants. Fourth, we consider the religious beliefs, practices, and organizations of second-generation immigrants. We conclude by outlining several ways to enrich theoretical thinking in future research, with particular attention to the ways post-1965 immigrants are situated within and changing American religious institutions and social institutions more broadly.

CHANGING AMERICAN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Before 1990, relatively few sociologists thought about religious beliefs, practices, or organizations in the lives of post-1965 immigrants (for important exceptions, see Haddad & Lummis 1987, Kim 1981, Shin & Park 1988). Those who did study immigrant religious organizations earlier focused primarily on the functional roles of these organizations, for example, how they provided social services to members (Kashima 1977, Mohl & Betten 1981) and how they facilitated or impeded immigrants' assimilation and acculturation (Barton 1975; Janowitz 1966; Kayal 1973; Mol 1961, 1971; Russo 1969; Tomasi 1970). These scholars, like Herberg and Handlin, also paid attention to how religion influenced the lives of different generations of immigrants. Herberg (1955) argued that after the first generation, immigrants would abandon their native languages and ethnic traditions while retaining their religions, using religion as a way of melting into America's triple melting pot of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. Subsequent research in a range of historical contexts has shown that the relationship between religion and ethnicity is considerably more complex among immigrants in each generation, as discussed in detail below (Gans 1994, Hammond & Warner 1993, Hirschman 2004, Smith 1978, Warner 1993, Yang 1999b).

Around 1990, sociologists began to conduct research about the religious lives of post-1965 immigrants. This work first emphasized religiously based migration patterns to the United States and then focused almost

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exclusively on "congregations"[1] or the "local face-to-face religious assemblies" where immigrants gather (Warner & Wittner 1998). Scholars argued that "de facto congregationalism" or the process of "adopting a congregational form in organizational structure and ritual" is one of the central processes that "contribute to the transformation of immigrant religion in the contemporary United States" (Yang & Ebaugh 2001b, p. 270; see also Bankston & Zhou 2000; Warner 1993, 2000). Studies of individual congregations began in the 1990s with collaborative projects led by Warner and Wittner and through a series of projects funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts about religion and immigration in the gateway cities of Houston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, New York City, San Francisco, and Washington, DC (Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000b, Miller et al. 2001, Warner & Wittner 1998).

Subsequent books and articles based on these and other studies clearly show how important religion and religious organizations are in the lives of many immigrants. The majority of studies described facets of the founding, structure, and internal operation of these gatherings. Researchers pointed out that immigrant religions in the United States often operate through a professionalized clergy, increased reliance on lay leadership, and voluntary membership and have changed rituals and worship styles compared with those in immigrants' nations of origin (Yang & Ebaugh 2001b). This scholarship stresses the similarities between rather than differences among immigrant religious centers in various traditions and locales. Ebaugh, O'Brien, and Chafetz are three of the few sociologists to think systematically about variation among different organizations. By combining GIS (geographic information systems) and ethnographic data, they describe differences between parish congregations in which participants live in the geographic area and niche congregations that draw from a broader metropolitan area through strong social networks (Ebaugh et al. 2000). Ebaugh & Chafetz (2000c) also define two ideal-type congregations they call the congregational structure model and the community center model to further chart organizational variation. They find that these two ideal types capture largely unrelated aspects of immigrants' religious organizations and that no clear patterns by religious tradition, ethnicity, membership size, socioeconomic status, or local availability of secular groups emerge.

Within individual religious centers, scholars have also paid attention to internal diversity based on ethnicity, language, region of origin, and even religious tradition. Some centers maintain what Yang has called a tenacious unity, whereas others divide often through schism (Badr 2000; George 2003; Numrich 1996; Yang 1998, 2000b). Many include newcomers, individuals outside of their religious or ethnic group, either in their usual gatherings or in separate gatherings that some scholars call parallel congregations. Language differences are often a key dividing line, with some worship centers deciding to have separate services in different languages and others struggling to maintain single language services (Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000a). In some cases, such as at a Ghanaian Pentecostal church in Chicago, centers decide to use the English language in services rather than traditional languages because they want to include more people as part of their commitment to evangelism (Stevens 2004).

The ways immigrants' religious organizations facilitate their adaptation in the United States remains a central theme in recent studies. Historically, religious centers were viewed as conservative organizations that preserved ethnic customs, language, and group solidarity and as adaptive organizations that helped immigrants adjust to their new environments (Mullins 1987). Within the literature, there

[1] We recognize the Christian connotation in use of the term "congregation." This is the term used in much of the literature on immigration and religion, however, so we employ the term when it is an appropriate reference to a specific scholar's work.

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is evidence of centers serving all these functions (for example, Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000b, Hurh & Kim 1990, Kim & Kim 2001, Min 1992, Warner & Wittner 1998). Many studies illustrate the range of formal and informal social services immigrants have access to through local religious organizations upon arriving in the United States (Campion 2003, Ebaugh & Pipes 2001, Menjívar 2001, Min 1992). Churches in New York's Chinatown, for example, provide housing, food, employment, and a safe haven to Chinese recently arrived from the Fuzhou region of China (Guest 2003). In addition to direct assistance, religious centers also foster networks that often lead to mortgages, housing, jobs, and business opportunities that facilitate social and economic adaptation (Bankston 1997, Bankston & Zhou 2000, Kwon 1997, Kwon et al. 1997, Zhou et al. 2002).

Despite the sustained attention to religious centers, sociologists have devoted relatively little attention to the relationship between individual centers and their broader religious institutional contexts. Some research suggests that the shape of more macro-level religious institutions, such as denominations, may influence whether and how centers schism (George 2003, Shin & Park 1988). Additionally, Yang & Ebaugh (2001b) argue that some immigrant centers actually come together to create broader regional and international religious organizations similar to Protestant denominations. The way this happens in different traditions and its impact have not been investigated, however (Yang & Ebaugh 2001b). Immigrant and second-generation centers, for example Latino Catholic parishes, are also having a profound effect on the shape and direction of their broader religious traditions in the United States (Cadena 1998; Lawson 1998, 1999; Levitt 2002). Through an analysis of the National Catholic Bishops Conference of the United States, Mooney (2006) argues that immigration is changing the shape of the Catholic church and has become a strategic issue on which the "Catholic church has reasserted its prophetic voice in society" (p. 1455). Similarly, Ecklund (2006) argues that some groups of second-generation immigrants are bringing a broader focus on race and ethnicity to the religious institution of American evangelicalism. To understand fully how immigrants participate in local religious life in the United States, it is essential to understand how their organizations are shaped and institutionally embedded in their existing, nonimmigrant and larger denominational and religious bodies.

IDENTITY FORMATION: ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS, AND GENDER IDENTITIES

Individual and group identity formation, or the ways individuals think of themselves and their relationships to groups of others (Cerulo 1997), is a central theme in research about religion and immigration. Scholars of religion and immigration have deepened and expanded the literature on identities by showing how identities are many-sided, fluid (shaped by historical and social contexts), and overlapping (Ajrouch 2004). Some scholars have suggested that religious identities become more salient for immigrants in the United States than in their nations of origin because of the role religions have in preserving ethnic identities, although there is only indirect evidence for this. For example, in a study of two Hindu Indian religious groups, Kurien (1998) shows how Hinduism helps a group of Indian immigrants ease the transition between being Indian and being American by enabling them to "assert pride in their Hindu Indian heritage [as a way] of claiming a position for themselves at the American multicultural table" (p. 37).

Scholars have pushed understanding of religious identity beyond being either achieved or ascribed to show that identities for immigrants, even those who are part of the same religion, might have aspects of both. For example, Cadge & Davidman (2006) examine the narratives of religiosity among third-generation Jews and first-generation

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Thai Buddhists and demonstrate that the content of religious identities in these groups have both achieved and ascribed aspects. This is an important finding in light of the fact that both of these religious traditions have a strongly inherited component (Cadge & Davidman 2006). The work of some authors also reflects the theme that agency is an important part of creating religious identities (Ng 2002; Yang 1999a,b). For example, on the basis of evidence of the conversion process for members of a Chinese immigrant church, Ng (2002) argues that the process of converting to a mainstream religion in the United States involves Chinese immigrants' developing their own appropriations of cultural categories, symbols, and practices even though they are converting to Christianity, an institutionally accepted religion in the United States. And in his work, Yang (1999b, 2000a) shows through ethnographic research among Chinese immigrant churches that religious and ethnic identities are not an either/or matter of assimilation or cultural retention. Rather, identities for Chinese are best described as adhesive, allowing for both selective assimilation and selective preservation of ethnicity in the process of negotiating what it means to be Christian, American, and Chinese.

Most of these studies measure religion in terms of participation in religious organizations and the influence this has on ethnic-oriented and gender-based identities and on the relationship between religious, ethnic, and gender identities in religious settings. Immigrants may use religion as part of identity construction in multiple ways. Religion can be used primarily to construct a religious identity, to facilitate development or retention of an ethnic identity, or some combination of these depending on the context or ethnic resources of a particular religious gathering. Most of the current religion and immigration literature focuses on the ways immigrant religious organizations help to reinforce and maintain ethnicity (Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000b, Warner & Wittner 1998). Min's (1992) study of first-generation Korean churches shows that preserving ethnic traditions and customs is a main function of those religious centers. Min's later study of Indian Hindus and Korean Christians additionally shows how religious organizations help both groups preserve their ethnic traditions by making religious and ethnic rituals synonymous and combining ethnic and religious rituals. Min argues that Korean Christians have an easier time using their religion to preserve ethnicity compared with Indian Hindus because of the more organizationally based nature of Korean Christianity (Min 2003, 2005). In work on Latina women, Peña & Frehill (1998) similarly show that women who are more embedded culturally in the Latino ethnic community place a higher importance on their religiosity. Although they used additional measures of religiosity beyond church attendance, the study population was generated through a snowball sample starting with respondent recruiters who were involved in parishes. Although this type of work provides nuanced information about the connection between religion and ethnic identities, such research designs (that examine constructions of ethnicity among people who are already part of religious organizations) may be more likely to assume a priori that religion and ethnicity will be connected (Peña & Frehill 1998). Future studies on the connection between religion and ethnicity might compare the development of ethnic identities among religious and nonreligious people as well as differences between people who are highly and less religious, to further uncover relationships.

Further, little research compares differences in identity construction between religious and nonreligious immigrants. In an exception to this, Carnes (2004) shows through a study of Chinese immigrants in New York City's Chinatown that those who are religious are more likely than the nonreligious to fuse religious and ethnic identities. Carnes's work is also unique in his focus on the elderly, many of whom are not able to travel to regular religious services, which enables him to conceptualize religiosity based on rituals that occur

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outside as well as inside of religious organizations (Carnes 2004).

In the few studies that do examine how religious and ethnic identities relate to one another outside of specifically religious contexts, scholars of religion and immigration show that a religious identity may be manifest differently based on social and historical contexts and that religious identities may change over time as immigrants and their children adapt to different facets of U.S. culture. For example, through participant observation and interviews with Muslim university students Peek (2005) explains post-9/11 changes in how Muslim students viewed their religious identities.

In addition to religion and ethnicity, scholars of religion and immigration have considered the role of gender in identity construction and maintenance in religious organizations and individuals' lives. This work too, suffers from an overfocus on how gender is constructed within religious organizations, rather than the various ways that religion and gender might intersect outside of specifically religious settings. For example, through examining an Indian immigrant church, George (1998) shows how religion sometimes acts as an empowering resource for women, taking less patriarchal forms in organizations in the United States than in immigrants' countries of origin. At the same time, religion is contested space over which Indian Christians try to retain traditional cultural characteristics in the face of a more liberal American Christianity (George 1998). Ebaugh & Chafetz (1999) argue that, in the 13 religious organizations studied in Houston, women reproduce traditional ethnic culture but also have increased access to high-status positions in their congregations to the degree that men are not able or willing to fill them. Men tend to be interested in these positions in direct proportion to the amount of social status they lose in the process of migration (Ebaugh & Chafetz 1999, George 1998).

Numerous other examples show how women create new religious spaces for themselves inside and outside of religious organizations and creatively adapt to their new positions in religious organizations (Abusharaf 1998, Cadge 2004). Chen's (2005) ethnographic work in a Taiwanese Buddhist temple and a Taiwanese evangelical Christian church, for example, shows in detail that both environments offer a space for women to construct a distinct sense of self as separate from the family. Other research shows that how Korean Buddhists use religion to understand the relationship to the homeland happens, in part, in gendered ways, with men asserting an identity through religious activities that construct distinctively male spaces in the temple in response to the degrading aspects of the male immigrant experience (Suh 2003). Research on second-generation Korean Americans further reveals that religion, race, ethnicity, and gender operate differently depending on the social relationships in which these identities are played out. Korean Americans negotiate the place of gender, religion, and ethnicity in relationship to members of the larger U.S. society, to first-generation Koreans, and to other members of the second generation (Park 2001). Other research examines specifically how members of the second generation have views of gender that influence their commitment to their religion in the face of more egalitarian ideas than their parents had (Alumkal 1999, Yang 2004). There are few studies that examine the way religion and gender intersect more broadly outside of particular religious organizations. In one study that could serve as an example of this kind of research, Huisman & Hondagneu-Sotelo (2005) show how the religion-related dress practices of Bosnian Muslim refugee women act as a way to regularly enact gender. Studying gender inside religious organizations is the place to begin an agenda examining how immigrants view the intersection of gender and religion. A broader lens will go outward to take account also of how religion and gender intersect in diverse contexts outside religious organizations.

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RELIGIOUS LIVES AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION FOR IMMIGRANTS

In addition to questions about identity formation, a small number of scholars are beginning to investigate religion and civic life among post-1965 immigrants (Chen 2003, Ecklund 2006). Civic life describes the ways post-1965 immigrants and their families view their responsibility to participate in American society. Civic actions are generally voluntary, not aimed at reaping an economic profit, and are often concerned with improving some version of the common good. Scholars of late nineteenth and early twentieth century European immigration saw religious participation as a centrally important part of developing identities as American citizens. High levels of cultural and religious assimilation were expected to foster large-scale inclusion into the networks and institutions of American society, including adaptation to mainstream American civic life (Gordon 1964). Among post-1965 immigrants, scholars have only begun to examine how religion influences the ways in which civic life for new immigrants is constructed. This work has focused mainly on political incorporation and on whether or not religion provides resources that help immigrants gain citizenship or vote. A small set of studies also examines the extent to which immigrant religious organizations provide social services, with a main focus on social services to other immigrants. A few studies have also given attention to the cultural construction of various civic identities for immigrants.

The first part of developing an identity as a citizen is actually becoming a citizen. Gaining citizenship involves navigating the application process, language barriers, and other impediments to gaining legal status as an American citizen. There is resource variation among immigrants, and some researchers are studying how religious organizations link immigrants together in ways that help them through this process. Researchers have examined this process in the Korean church (Min 1992) and other immigrant religious organizations, arguing that religious organizations might provide social service resources, such as help with learning the English language and help studying for the U.S. citizenship exam (Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000b). Scholars have also examined whether religious identity and participation facilitate attaining U.S. citizenship (Lien 2004). In a study of Asian Americans living in the five metropolitan areas with the highest numbers of immigrants, Lien (2004) shows that Catholic immigrants have the highest rate of citizenship attainment.

A second aspect of civic life is related to participatory political incorporation. Lien (2004) also finds that, among Asian Americans, a group that according to the 2000 Census accounted for over 40% of immigration between 1990 and 1999, those who are religiously involved are more likely to vote. Researchers who study religion and immigration are beginning to compare religious and nonreligious immigrants in terms of civic and political participation. One study finds that in a city that is religious and conservative, even nonreligious Latinos find ways to be involved and integrated into local community civic life (Cavalcanti & Schleef 2005). Among immigrants and their children, there is also evidence that religious identities sometimes overlap with racial and ethnic identities to form new types of political coalitions. For example, researchers are finding that Latinos who are either conservative Protestants or traditional Catholics are defying the traditional liberal/conservative allegiances and are more like black Christians in their commitment to economic liberalism in tandem with a conservative social/moral perspective (Espinosa et al. 2003, Leal et al. 2005).

Religion and politics often have different connections in the United States than in countries of origin, leading immigrants to different understandings of their relationships. For example, a study of Hindu and Muslim immigrants in the United States concluded that the relationship between religion and politics depends both on the kinds of political resources

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an immigrant brings to the United States and on the context into which the immigrant religion is received (Kurien 2001). The nation of origin often continues to have an influence on U.S. religion and politics via the transnational ties that religion facilitates between U.S. immigrants and those in their sending nations (Levitt 2002). Once immigrants do gain access to the American political system through forms of participation such as citizenship, voting, and campaign participation, religion also fosters specific ideological allegiances among existing U.S. political factions (Lien 2004). Many current scholars further argue that involvements in religious organizations lead people to be more involved in their ethnic and nonethnic communities as well as in their home countries (Klineberg 2004, Yang 1999b). Congregations themselves also evolve over time in ways that influence immigrants' levels of engagement (Mullins 1987).

A third aspect, beyond macro political participation, is the ability of religious organizations to provide participating individuals with motives for volunteering, as well as with connections to local forms of community service that may or may not be sponsored by a particular religious organization (Wuthnow 1999). Most of the research on religion and community volunteerism among immigrants has focused almost entirely on the extent to which immigrant congregations provide social services for immigrants, particularly those in their congregations (Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000b, Min 1992). Some research shows that immigrant congregations have a difficult time providing organizationally sponsored volunteer activities (Cnaan 1997, Ebaugh & Pipes 2001). Religion also has the ability to provide a moral narrative for helping others outside an individual's own religious or ethnic communities (Ecklund 2006). Scholars of religion and immigration are just beginning to ask whether and how the religious organizations of first- and second-generation immigrants extend beyond the boundaries of the immigrant community. In particular, researchers are starting to take into account how differences between specific religious ideologies might influence the connection between religion and community service. Chen (2002) shows that a Taiwanese Buddhist temple and a Taiwanese evangelical religious organization differ significantly in their framework for and practice of public engagement, with the Buddhist temple focusing much more on community service compared with the evangelical congregation.

Fourth, in addition to focusing on citizenship status, voting, and community service, a small number of recent scholars consider the cultural aspects of civic identities or the extent to which immigrants view themselves as part of the United States. Some research suggests that as immigrants become more American they may also become more religious, a process that may influence the development of a civic identity (Chen 2002, 2003). Religions that are closely tied to the national identity of a country of origin may contribute to the creation of a civic identity as "other" in the mainstream United States, as Rajagopal (2000) argues about the development of Hindu nationalism in the United States (see also Kurien 2003). The contribution of religion to the development of civic identities not only differs between religions but, as Ecklund (2005a, 2006) shows, between organizations within the same religion. Immigrants also use religion to renegotiate different categories of race and ethnicity, which have implications for how they view their roles as American citizens (Ecklund 2005b). Researchers such as Mattson (2003) have begun to take the content of religion seriously as it relates to the civic sphere, looking at how ideologies espoused by different religions might be used to justify different civic identities and practices. Mattson (2003) examines some of the various ways that Islam is used to define different nationalism paradigms in relationship to the United States.

Fifth, researchers are just beginning to examine the possibilities of religion to act as a resource for political mobilization. For example, research by Menjívar (2003) shows

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how a Catholic church encourages Salvadoran immigrants to work collectively to transform their communities, whereas evangelical Christian churches attended by Salvadorans place more stress on individual salvation. And Hondagneu-Sotelo and colleagues (2004) find that religious and nonreligious individuals use moral forms of Mexican Catholicism when engaged in political protest along the United States/Mexico border. A growing research agenda on immigrant religion and civic life would continue to take seriously the various ways immigrant religious organizations might mobilize around particular political agendas as well as the ways that immigrants and their children might use religion as motivation to join specific political groups and protests.

RELIGION AND THE SECOND GENERATION

A growing number of studies focus on the religious lives of second-generation immigrants in the United States. Herberg (1955) argued that second-generation immigrants would be less religious than their parents, and that by the third generation individuals would return to their religion as a way of distinguishing themselves from others. There are too few members among the third generation of post-1965 immigrants to have systematic research about their lives, and there is some disagreement about religion in the lives of the second generation. Researchers suggest that, for some ethnic groups, members of the second generation may leave their immigrant religious organizations (Chai 1998, Kwon et al. 2001). We have few systematic survey data, however, about actual religious participation among the immigrant second generation. A rare example is work by Min & Kim (2005), which shows through a small survey ($n = 202$) of Koreans in the New York City area that about two-thirds of the adults surveyed who attended a Korean church as children participate in a church as adults. More than two-thirds of those attend a Korean congregation (Min & Kim 2005).

Other researchers view immigrant religious communities as places where the second generation is present, negotiates their relationship with the first generation, and gathers cultural and social capital that leads to economic and educational success (Bankston & Zhou 1995, 1996). Although some researchers have echoed the sentiments of religious leaders that there may be a movement away from religion in the second generation, what those who study Asian communities have called the "silent exodus" (Chai 2001), there are few national survey data about these issues. In a rare exception to the above, Hunt (1998) uses data from an analysis from the 1984 National Alcohol Survey to show that Latinos in the second and third generations are more likely to switch from Catholicism to Protestantism.

Like scholarship on immigrant religion overall, most research on religion among members of the second generation is based on studies of religious centers. Researchers who study the involvement of second-generation immigrants in immigrant congregations have developed a series of arguments about the protective effects religious communities have in helping young second-generation immigrants adapt to American society. Bankston & Zhou (1995, 1996) argue that participation in an ethnic church provides children with protective social networks with coethnics, which facilitate adolescent success in school and adaptation to American society. Particularly for youth who are at risk for what the authors call "dangerous and destructive behavior," religious communities often serve as beneficial locations of social, financial, and surrogate parental support (Cao 2005; Guest 2003, 2004). On the basis of research in a New York Chinatown church, Cao (2005) argues that, for working-class immigrant youth, churches act as surrogate families that facilitate the process of moving from the working class to the middle class, enlarging Portes & Rumbaut's (2001) argument about segmented assimilation.

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In addition to providing social services and protective benefits for members of the second generation, there are intangible resources religious organizations provide for second-generation immigrants to help them maintain an ethnic identity as well as construct new racial and ethnic identities (Cha 2001, Kurien 2005, Yang 1999a). Chong (1998) finds that, for second-generation Koreans, the Korean church helps them retain ethnic identity by legitimizing a core set of Korean values and making those values sacred through their identification with a conservative Christian morality and worldview. Applying Smith's (1998) theories of subcultural identities, Chai (1998, 2001) argues that Korean churches provide a place for members of the second generation to successfully negotiate a religious and ethnic identity that is distinctive from the first generation.

Another set of researchers examines the ways that ethnic religious organizations help members of the second generation negotiate wider American constructs of race and gender. For example, Busto (1996) argues that participation in campus evangelical Christian organizations provides Asian Americans with cultural resources for reinforcing the image of Asian Americans as model minorities. Drawing on a survey and interviews with members of Asian American congregations in the Bay Area (both mainline and evangelical churches), Jeung (2004, 2005) examines how Asian Americans organize religiously around a pan-ethnic identity as Asian. There is very little research that deals with members of non-Christian religions. One exception is a study of a Hindu Student Council Chapter by Kurien (2005) that illustrates the complexity of intersecting identities of race, ethnicity, and religion among this group of Hindu students; although they came to the group to deal with the intersection of race and religion, the intersection of these same two identities also produced conflict. In a rare study of the connection between religion and ethnicity among second-generation people outside the confines of a religious organization, Ajrouch (2004) shows how Arab American high school students use gender relations and religious teachings to create boundaries that distinguish them from both white as well as immigrant Americans.

A key part of developing racial and ethnic identities for members of the second generation involves figuring out their relationship to the first generation. Most research in this area has focused on how tensions between the immigrant first generation and the more Americanized second generation play out in congregational contexts. On the basis of ethnographic research comparing second-generation Koreans and Chinese, Alumkal (2003) argues that members of the second generation must continually legitimize being part of a religious tradition (evangelical Christianity) that is concerned with imparting a religious message that is supposedly open to anyone while worshipping in an ethnic-specific context. He shows how members of the second generation remain distinct from their parents' generation while still worshipping in an ethnic-specific context (Alumkal 2003). Research on Indian Christians shows that members of the second generation sometimes have different ideas about the content of their religion, with the first generation viewing Christianity according to ascribed religious and ethnic criteria and the second generation viewing Christianity according to the more achieved and individualistic criteria they perceive as evangelical (Kurien 2004). Other research reveals differences by generation in how individuals think about gender. In some immigrant religious communities, the second generation adopts a more conservative view about gender than the first generation as a way of upholding a distinctive religious identity (Alumkal 1999, Yang 2004).

LOOKING FORWARD: DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In the past 15 years, sociologists have developed a richly textured body of research

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about the religious lives of immigrants, primarily through studies of their religious organizations. To understand more comprehensively the range of ways religion influences immigrants' lives, future studies will need to continue focusing on tighter analytic comparisons when studying religious organizations and on the many ways religion is important outside of these settings. Such approaches will result in an expansion of the topics and methodological strategies currently in use, in more critical analysis of the ways religion is conceptualized and measured, and in a more holistic picture of immigrants' lived religious experiences.

Current studies of immigrants' religious organizations, as evident in the reviewed research, focus on a single religious center or a series of centers in diverse religious traditions from different home countries located in the same city. These studies generally emphasize similarities between rather than differences among organizations. Such a focus means researchers rarely develop hypotheses or theories that might explain possible variation in, for example, the organizational form, developmental process, social capital formation, demographic composition, or leadership structures of organizations. Additional analytic leverage would be developed by paying closer attention to variation and designing studies in ways that enable consideration of possible sources of that variation. Additional axes of comparison also need to be considered. Rather than focusing on one city, for example, comparisons across different U.S. cities between immigrants from the same country who share a religious tradition can show how the contexts of reception shape immigrants' experiences, as in the research about Salvardoran and Guatemalan immigrants in San Francisco, Washington, DC, and Phoenix conducted by Menjívar (1999, 2000, 2003, 2006a,b). As immigrants increasingly move from large cities to smaller ones, the range of metropolitan areas studied also needs to be expanded to include the new, smaller gateway cities.

Second, comparisons between people from the same country who participate in different religious traditions would show how immigrants are shaped by those traditions in the United States, as evident in Chen's (2002) study of Taiwanese immigrants who participate in a Buddhist temple and an evangelical Christian church. Third, additional research that systematically considers immigrants' contexts of exit and reception can show how such contexts shape the religious gatherings of immigrants in the United States, particularly with regard to their status as economic migrants or refugees, their movement from religious majority to minority status and vice versa, etc. (Douglas 2003, Fetzer 1998, Solberg 1992, Yang & Ebaugh 2001a, Zhou et al. 2002). Examining such contexts might provide insight about the extent to which immigrant congregations (and particularly second-generation congregations) provide

RELIGION AND TRANSNATIONALISM

In their *Annual Review* article "Transnational Migration Studies: The Longue Durée" (this volume), Levitt & Jaworsky (2007) demonstrate how religion is a key social arena of transnationalism. Here, we highlight a few of their key points. Participation in transnational religious organizations allows migrants access to social capital in the new nation as well as the possibility of retaining social capital in their homelands. Migrants change the religious institutions of their destination countries (such as the changes brought to the U.S. Catholic church by Latin American migrants coming to the United States) and export different forms of faith to their nations of origin.

In addition, global religious networks unite coreligionists around the world. New religious structures are created by the migration process such as para Chinese Christian churches that link individuals in Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China, the United States, and Canada. Religion links migrants through time, allowing them to remain a part of a chain of memory with coreligionists from the past, present, and future. New forms of transnational civil society are created as religion provides spaces to socialize the first and second generations into existing political structures, while at the same time acting as a counterpoint to extremist political voices.

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social services that extend beyond helping those in their particular ethnic community. Some of these questions will be more easily answered as future waves of data from the New Immigrant Survey, the largest systematic survey of immigrants, become available and as researchers perhaps begin to combine survey data and ethnographic studies of religious centers.

Finally, research about immigrants' religious organizations will be more revealing if it is situated in broader geographic and religious contexts. Research by Cadge (2005), for example, compares the religious organizations and experiences of first-generation Theravada Buddhist immigrants and first-generation native-born mostly white converts, pointing to places of convergence and divergence. More broadly, scholars have only begun to consider how the religious organizations in which immigrants participate interact with broader social institutions and how religion influences individual immigrants' interactions with such institutions. At the level of the state, for example, immigrants negotiate legal rules about organizational incorporation, zoning, and tax status when they start religious organizations (Breyer 1993). Such negotiations are also evident as organizations and individual immigrants work with funeral homes and burial grounds to make arrangements that meet religious and state guidelines (Badr 2000). Scholars are just beginning to consider how immigrant and nonimmigrant religious centers intersect with one another, as in research by Wuthnow (2005) that considers interactions and exchanges between congregations attended by both immigrants and nonimmigrants.

In addition to studies of immigrants' religious organizations, many more studies are needed to understand how immigrants live and experience their religions outside of particular religious contexts. A small but growing number of studies, for example, focus on immigrants' interactions with social service organizations and the ways their religious experience is constructed and utilized in both religious and secular organizations (Bruce 2006, Nawyn 2006). As in native-born populations, religion is often a factor in immigrants' health-care access and use, though this is rarely acknowledged in reviews about immigration and health (Kandula et al. 2004). Although some religious organizations foster traditional healing practices (Numrich 2004), others may influence individuals' health outcomes and/or foster interactions with health-care institutions, but additional study is needed (Hurh & Kim 1990). Anecdotal evidence suggests that some hospitals and doctor's offices are increasingly accommodating religion by creating Muslim prayer spaces, for example. Also, some religion-specific health-care organizations such as the University Muslim Medical Association in Los Angeles are beginning (Miller et al. 2001). Although accounts are mainly journalistic at this point, religion also clearly influences how many immigrants consult the mainstream medical community and how they make decisions about health-care concerns (Barnes & Sered 2005, Fadiman 1998, Ong 1995).

Moreover, sociologists rarely consider how religion influences the experiences immigrants have in social spheres that are not thought of as specifically religious, such as workplaces, neighborhoods, local civic and political organizations, childcare centers, recreational facilities, and other aspects of daily life in the United States. The kind of "lived religion" or religion in daily life approach that such inquiries might require is more often utilized by religious studies scholars and anthropologists (for example, Hall 1997, Orsi 1996, Tweed 1997). Sociologists who have used this approach have looked at migration decisions and experiences; for example, Hagan & Ebaugh (2003) describe how religion influences all aspects of the migration of undocumented Mayans from Guatemala, from the decision they make to migrate to Houston to the preparation process, the journey, and the subsequent arrival in the United States. Using such an

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approach, Smith & Bender (2004) illustrate how South Asian Muslim taxi drivers in New York City pray while working, primarily by stopping in restaurants that have created informal prayer spaces. Thinking more about how religion influences immigrants' lives in nonreligious spheres such as schools, workplaces, and medical facilities is likely to reveal not only the mixing and messiness of religious experience, but the ways in which nonimmigrants are involved in the migration process, the importance of transnational relations, and how immigrants who are not involved in religious organizations experience religion, if at all, a topic about which almost nothing is known. A religion in everyday life approach also raises questions about religion as a conceptual category and facilitates broader analytic thinking about how the sacred is present and influential apart from formal religions and religious spaces.

In the past 15 years, sociologists have moved from knowing very little about the religious lives of immigrants to knowing a great deal about their religious organizations. Such work has produced rich insights into the varieties of ways immigrants practice their religions in the United States, as well as some of the commonalities across immigrant religious organizations. Building on this research, future researchers have the potential to enrich theoretical thinking at all levels of analysis by combining the excellent empirical work that has been conducted with new questions that take into account a broader conceptualization of religion to investigate how immigrants understand and use religion both inside and outside specifically religious contexts.

FUTURE ISSUES

1. More research about individuals based on systematic survey data is needed to understand how independent variables like demographics, immigration status, geographic contexts of exit and reception, and the presence or absence of coethnics shape immigrants' religious beliefs. Analyses are also needed that examine how religion as an independent variable influences immigrants' economic mobility and civic and political participation.
2. Additional analytic comparisons are needed to understand fully how immigrants develop and participate in religious organizations (i.e., immigrants from one country of origin in different U.S. cities, immigrants from the same country who practice different religious traditions in the same city, comparisons between immigrant and native-born people practicing the same religion, etc.).
3. Studies of immigrants' religious organizations need to be placed in broader social contexts to understand how immigrants negotiate with other religious and secular organizations in their midst.
4. A lived religion approach is needed to understand fully the range of ways religion influences immigrants' lives outside of their religious centers, for example at work, at school, in health-care organizations, in social service organizations, etc.

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